Vol. VI, No. 34
FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1918

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

Food Will Win the War

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Notes of the Week

Revolutions Then and Now

NOW that the suffragists have set the fashion of meetings in Lafayette Square, more conservative organizations are following their example. On September the seventh the 161st anniversary of the birth of General Lafayette was celebrated at the identical spot in front of his statue, where the suffragists were arrested on August 6, 12, and 14. The President himself was present at the Lafayette meeting to honor the part of one man in a revolution nearly one hundred and fifty years old. The official recognition of the woman's revolution takes the form of arrests and imprisonment. After a hundred years doubtless there will be memorial meetings in appreciation of this second revolution to establish freedom in the land.

Mr. Baruch's Thoughts on Women

THE *Official Bulletin* prints the suggestions of Mr. Bernard M. Baruch in regard to the employment of women:

"That Mr. Baruch has given much thought to the ultimate use of women power in war work to take the place of man power transferred to the military service, was indicated when he stated that he believed that when American women get into war work there will be an immense stimulation of production. He suggested that they could do the work of men in munition plants, in light and fine machine work and in other industries. He said he thought the Labor Department, which recruits labor, would probably handle all women power problems and it was his judgment that the women needed direct encouragement to take up these lines of men's work. It is his opinion the attention of women should be called to this now, because when the new draft law is made its effect on man power will be instantaneous."

We suggest as subject for Mr. Baruch's thoughts that a generous government might not only make demands upon women but also give something in return and at the present time there is nothing of more importance to American women than the vote.

Women's Lives Also

THE casualties of the war are by no means confined to the men at the front. The first lives sacrificed, it will be remembered, were those of girl munition workers at the Eddystone plant. Four more girl munition workers were killed on September 7 in Paterson, New Jersey, while engaged in making bullets. During the last few months President Wilson has repeatedly refused to permit an interview of a few minutes to delegations of these women munition workers who have come to Washington to urge that women be enfranchised immediately.

Poles Reject Suffrage

THE Polish Constitution Committee has rejected the proposed extension of the franchise to women by a vote of nine to eight.

Not Germany Alone

IN the course of the debate on proportional representation in the German Reichstag on July 8, Landsberg (Social Democratic Party) said: "One state after another is passing over to the introduction of woman suffrage. Why must Germany always remain behind?" And the United States?

Progress of German Women

WHATEVER news of German women comes through the lines shows independence and fearlessness on their part which forebodes well for their future. Recently they refused through their suffrage association, to be organized as spies by the government. They have adopted a policy, in the case of a general election, of opposition to the candidates of the parties hostile to suffrage for women.

The wage strike among women workers is reported in a German paper as follows:

"The women workers in the trenches and huts industry in Upper Silesia, about 30,000 in number, have entered upon a wages strike. The movement is led by the district organization of the women workers of the trenches and huts industry of Upper Silesia, conjointly with the Catholic Unions of women wage earners and girls of Germany. . . . The organization, in a well-documented memorandum, makes twelve demands, relating to a rise of wages (which in Upper Silesia are remarkably low), shorter hours of work, abolition of the system of premiums, a more equitable distribution of food, and the observance of a fortnight's notice of dismissal. Negotiations with the employers have already begun. The characteristic feature of this wages agitation is that it has originated solely with women, contains solely the demands of working women, and in its general aspects is probably the first of its kind."

Democracy for Colored Women

STEPS to mobilize negro labor of the United States to render it more efficient in war industries and in agriculture have been undertaken by the federal Department of Labor, cooperating with the colored leaders in the states, including Ohio, Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, Illinois, Mississippi and Florida.

Negro women, with white women, are being forced into the war trades and into men's positions in greater and greater numbers as their men are drafted into service. This week sees negro women street cleaners stepping into the places of men in Louisville, Kentucky. With this influx of unorganized women of all races into the industrial field the ballot becomes the method of self-protection which a democratic government cannot longer withhold.

Political Parties Recognize Women

THE result of the recent primary elections in New York show the nomination of four women by the Republicans for the Assembly and eight by the Democrats. Each party nominated one woman for the state Senate. The Republicans have nominated one woman for Congress. The Republican Party has appointed a woman's national executive committee to work with their national committee.

The political power of women is gradually impressing itself upon the consciousness of the parties. It has not, however, yet been recognized fully, for parties are now making special auxiliary committees of women instead of giving the women positions on the regular committees.

Ohio Republicans and Suffrage

THE Republican State Convention of Ohio, which met in Columbus this week, contained a strong endorsement of the national suffrage amendment. Mrs. Valentine Winters, Chairman of the Ohio Branch of the Woman's Party, and other members of the Woman's Party, conferred with the Resolutions Committee of the Convention in order to secure the suffrage plank.

The plank in the Republican Platform reads:

"We favor woman suffrage and the immediate submission by Congress for the action of the several states, of the proposed amendment to the federal constitution granting them such right."

Following the meeting of the Convention, the delegation from the Woman's Party interviewed Senator Harding, urging his more vigorous support of the amendment.

On August 29, the Democratic Convention met in Columbus, but no mention was made of woman suffrage in its platform. Senator Pomerene, who was present at the convention, refused to see the delegation of suffragists who, under the leadership of Mrs. Winters, attended the convention to urge the incorporation of the suffrage plank.

British Women Make New Demands

THE National conference of women, under the auspices of the labor party, is to be held on October 15 and 16. The first resolution to be submitted will demand that the government should immediately pass a bill enabling women to be elected to the House of Commons, that further legislation admitting women to the professions, from which they are at present excluded, should be passed, and that the Representation-of-People Act should be amended so as to give votes on short residential qualification to all men and women of 21 or over.

The New South for Suffrage As a War Measure

THE overnight transformation of the Louisville (Kentucky) *Courier Journal* from an anti-suffrage paper into a suffrage supporter was a surprise to the South.

It is, of course, due to the progressive attitude of the Southern press as a whole that the change in the old guard of journalism is due. Such papers as *The Lexington (Ky.) Herald, The Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, The Richmond (Va.) Journal, The Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, the Memphis (Tenn.) Press, the Atlanta Georgian, The Raleigh (N. C.) News and Observer,* and a host of others, are forcing the hand of those papers that still cling to their ancient opposition to votes for women. The tour of Miss Maud Younger telling the story of the suffrage pickets through the cities of the South last fall did more than any one thing in recent years to dramatize to the South the new suffrage demand that the women of this nation have been making during the last five years.

In an editorial announcing the change the *Courier-Journal* takes an apologetic but logical attitude in an editorial entitled "Votes for Women" that is true to *Courier Journal* form:

"If ever the day arrives when the human race doffs its old habit of rubbing its eyes the world will have fallen into dullness and decay. As it is, it takes more and more of sensation, as time passes, to cause it to stare and rub, but this is due to the period and to the shifting of perspective.

"Sometimes one rubs his eyes in anticipation, only to settle down placidly enough upon the event itself. When English women first clamored for suffrage the shock to the British temperament was severe. But behold the British temperament today! The somewhat ancient suggestion that American women should be given the power of the ballot caused the same sort of perplexed staring, but the march of the idea is steady and, whatever may be urged for or against it, it is marching on. When votes for women shall become a fact, perplexity will end. The people will be ready for the next innovation. The world will not be dull or dead. It will not be exempt from other issues to cause it to rub its old eyes. Illinois, one of the latest states to hand the ballot to women, has settled down and is ready for new sensations—and the people of Illinois are having them.

"Women's activities in grave matters are not an innovation. When Judith slew Holofernes; when Jeanne d'Arc led the soldiers of France; when Charlotte Corday stabbed Marat in his tub; when our own picturesque Molly Pitcher handled a cannon they showed spirit which imagination usually ascribes to men only. A French woman was one of the greatest of chemists. George Eliot as a novelist ranks with the best of men writers. But if ever American women displayed every quality which men themselves might well be proud to own they are doing it during this war. From one end of the country to the other they are performing tasks which are creditable to their brains, industry, heroism and patriotism. These are not merely tasks of gentleness. Their work on the battlefields is the splendid effort of firm hands gloved with womanliness. They at home are evincing skill in organization and they are getting things done. Their war-time achievements are not the spurtings of emotionalism; no more are they that than the stern deeds of the soldiers who are fighting this war are the fruits of sentimentality.

"The war is bringing women face to face with civic problems. They are revealing a positive interest in the affairs of State. This interest will not die when the war ends. It cannot be suppressed. In states where women vote they have today avenues for expressing their views upon questions which affect them as much as they concern men. And so the policies of yesterday, which might soundly have opposed the extension of suffrage to women, are being forced by the period to give way to the policies of today and tomorrow.

"The war has brought new light to old topics. Its processes have been drastic, swift and sure. It has taught us to turn from things which in ordinary times were sound, but which will be absolute in the ordinary times to come. It has taught us a lesson in Woman. . . .

"So, the *Courier-Journal*—the "Old Lady on the Corner"—whose voice has heretofore been raised in opposition to suffrage for women, is going to turn the corner and walk straightway into the ranks of some of her younger sisters. She is an old girl herself, but she can recognize the charms of the debutantes when she sees them and she is going to dance the "Votes for Women," one-step, waltz, muzurka, polka and all the rest of the dances until the band plays "Home, Sweet Home." The debutantes may be younger in years, but they shall not outdo her in the spirit of youth. In her hand she will carry a banner with the strange device, 'Votes for Women.'"

To the last, however, Mr. Henry Watterson, a pioneer figure in American journalism, who some weeks ago severed his long connection with the *Courier Journal,* remains an anti. He is at the present time a contributing editor of *The Woman Patriot,* an anti-suffragae organ.

An Appeal from the South to the Western Voters

A RECENT communication of mine has called forth an expression from a southern-born woman now residing and voting in the West, which indicates that western Democratic women are watching proceedings in Washington and wondering with us of the South what is to be the final record of the Democratic Party upon the federal suffrage amendment.

I am impelled to add another word.

To the western Democratic woman with a vote, I would beg (on bended knee, as it were) for a positive, uncompromising and aggressive demand upon the party for the immediate passage of the federal amendment. Watchful waiting is not all we owe to the party of our inheritance and to the cause of our deepest convictions. In other words, may we Democratic women be passive as Democrats until we have been aggressive as suffragists? Through the western Democratic women the party may be brought to see the way of its redemption, and it must see the way of its redemption if it is to be redeemed for some of its failures, some of its delays and some of its persecutions.

It hasn't been very long since we were laughed at, down here, whenever we advanced the idea to our Southern Democrats that they could not ignore the demand of the western women for national suffrage. Some of them still laugh at us. They seem to think they can make us believe that there is no such demand, that you are well satisfied with suffrage for yourselves and will not worry if the rest of us are never enfranchised. They slander the Woman's Party, misrepresent it to the people, and have been guilty of the most outrageous treatment to its members.

For a while they successfully pulled the wool over the eyes of the suffragists, but through a double sense of loyalty, first to our cause and, second, to the ideals and interests of the party, the southern suffragists are gradually coming to see the light, but the way is most difficult. It still rests largely with you, Democratic women of the west, to meet the challenge in unmistakable terms, and to meet it at once.

There is a difference between white-washing and washing white. Will you expect the southern woman to white-wash, in the day of reckoning, those members of the party who are responsible for the guilt of the party's bad faith with you, or will you join us by bringing about a real change of heart—a real redemption, before it is too late? We know it is our southern men who, most of all, stand in the way. It is they who must be convinced that you are as much in earnest as we are about our enfranchisement; that you are as much in earnest as we believe you to be and beg you to prove, with all the strength that is yours.

SUE S. WHITE,
Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 20, 1918.

Senator Thomas Makes Another Error

SENATOR Charles S. Thomas is now sending his telegrams in answer to those of Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, chairman of the National Woman's Party in Colorado, on a collect basis. The veteran senator declares that he does not feel justified in making the government pay for the telegrams. He also states that the suffragettes who recently were arrested should have had heavier sentences than they did. His telegram:

"Washington, D. C., August 22.

"Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, Colorado Springs, Colo.

"I have received several telegrams from you recently to which I have not replied because they were repetitions of each other. Your last, received this morning, informs me that your associates in Washington will continue their agitation until the suffrage amendment has passed the Senate. It is safe to say that the suffrage amendment will be taken up when they abandon their characteristic methods of bidding for and obtaining notoriety. The authorities are very unwise in mitigating the sentences of those convicted. Heavier sentences should have been imposed and rigidly enforced. I do not feel justified in making constant reply to your telegrams at government expense; hence this and all other telegrams which you demand from me will be sent collect.

(Signed) "CHARLES S. THOMAS."

This reply was received by Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, Colorado chairman of the National Woman's Party, to a message sent Senator C. S. Thomas by Mrs. Fowler after the imprisonment of the suffragists in Washington. Mrs. Fowler refused to pay for the Senator's telegram, and the charges were reversed. The Senator's gratuitous reply cost $6.25. "If he will express his opinions," said Mrs. Fowler, "he must pay for it!"

Before the telegram reached Mrs. Fowler the government had repented its action in imprisoning suffragists again, and had not only released the women in prison, but had given them permission to speak. Mrs. Fowler had therefore the last word when she replied to the Colorado champion of women as follows:

"Colorado Springs, Colo.,
August 21, 1918.

"Senator Charles S. Thomas, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

"We note release of suffragists, enforced by hunger strike for right to be treated as political prisoners. Further repression futile. Agitation will continue until suffrage amendment is passed by Senate. We demand immediate justice for American women.

(Signed) "BERTHA W. FOWLER."

THAT Colorado as a whole is far from taking the belligerent attitude of the gentleman from that state in the Senate is testified to by the unanimous adoption by the Colorado State Federation of Labor endorsing immediate action on the pending Susan B. Anthony amendment. This meeting was held in Salida, Colorado, where the Intermountain Typograhpical Conference was also meeting.

COMMENTING upon the baseless arrest and consequent release of the suffragists, J. F. Mayes, Republican county chairman, said: "The arrest of any citizen for availing himself of a constitutional right cannot be too severely condemned. The release of such citizen should follow as the best evidence that our county intends to maintain a government of laws.

"Women have been arrested, released, re-arrested and again released in Washington, but submission by Congress of the suffrage amendment remains in political eclipse. The President has demonstrated his power to defeat Southern Democrats for re-election, and the application of this same power should influence those Congressmen who escape his displeasure, to vote for the submission of the suffrage amendment."

The State Federation resolution was introduced by Frank J. Pulver, Denver Typograpical Union No. 49, and read as follows:

"Whereas, The American Trades Union movement was among the first to fully recognize and indorse the justness of the appeal of the women of this country for equal rights—not only in the industrial field but in the political life of the nation as well; and

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated membership of some 3,000,000 voters stands unreservedly for equal remuneration and conditions for all workers in the respective trades and vocations, irrespective of sex; and

"Whereas, Colorado and other western states were the first to effectually put into effect equal suffrage statutes, with gratifying and encouraging results; therefore be it

"Resolved, That in conformity with the action of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in St. Paul, Minn., to 'use all of its power to secure the immediate passage of the woman's suffrage amendment,' the Colorado State Federation of Labor, in convention at Salida, hereby urges upon the United States Senate the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to enfranchise the American women. And be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of this federation mail copies of this resolution to the Colorado members of the United States Senate and House."

The International Typographical Conference, composed of typographical unions of Colorado, New Mexico and Wyoming, passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, Our parent body, the International Typographical Union, was among the first to recognize the justice of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex, and

"Whereas, The many loyal women members of the International Typographical Union have shown beyond doubt the high value of female members of labor unions; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Intermountain Typographical conference, in sixth annual meeting at Salida, Colo., August 11, 1918, that we heartily indorse the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the constitution of the United States, and urge on the members of the national Senate the advisability and justice of immediately passing this amendment to enfranchise the American women."

Thoughts in Jail

By Katharine R. Fisher

PRISONERS are we,
American citizens imprisoned
For daring in the name of Democracy
To protest against the continued denial
Of the right of self government
To twenty millions of the American people.

WE lie in a dungeon
Long ago abandoned and condemned,
Just as politically we are held
Imprisoned in a subjection
Abandoned and condemned
By every other nation of English speech and spirit.

PAINFULLY raising my head,
I look down the long row
Of gray-blanketed heaps.
Under every heap a woman,
Weak, sick, but determined,
Twenty gray fortresses of determination.

DO you think to make us serve out our sentence,
You government officials?
This moment I hear the jailer telling us we are free.
Do you imagine, **Senators**,
That your blind obstinacy
Can defeat our determination?
From you we shall wrest the Great Charter of our freedom!

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Refered

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were refered to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 24 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor
Miss Vivian Pierce
Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender
Business Department
Miss Betty Gram
Circulation, Miss Therese Olzendam

Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and postoffice orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter, Nov. 14, 1913, at the Postoffice at Washington, D. C., under act of March 3, 1879

The President's Responsibility

IT is the determination of the women of this nation to put an end during the life of the present Congress to the long delay of politicians over the federal suffrage amendment.

They are holding the President of the United States, the leader of his Party, indeed the dictator of his Party at the present time, responsible for the past five years' delay in the enfranchisement of women.

By demonstrations that inform the general public and, if necessary, by a campaign in the suffrage States, against the Party obstructionists of the Senate, they propose to bring home to the head of this nation the fact that thinking men and women have long accepted: the immediate enfranchisement of women as a national necessity.

Party leaders who are frank admit the power of the President to put the suffrage measure through. They know he has the whip hand. The President himself is not unaware of his own power as an Executive. As long ago as 1908, when still the President of Princeton, he said in regard to the great office he now holds:

"He (the President) cannot escape being the leader of his party except by incapacity and lack of personal force, because he is at once the choice of the party and of the nation. He is the party nominee and the only nominee for whom the whole nation votes. . . .

"No one else represents the people as a whole, exercising a national choice; and inasmuch as his strictly executive duties are in fact subordinate, so far at any rate as all detail is concerned, the President represents, not so much the party's governing efficiency as its controlling ideas and principles. He is not so much part of its organization as its vital link of connection with the thinking nation.

"He can dominate his party by being spokesman for the real sentiment and purpose of the country, by giving direction to opinion, by giving the country at once the information and the statements of policy which enable it to form its judgment alike of parties and of men."

In practice the President has far out-distanced these prerogatives. He has forced rebellious leaders within his own party to pass party measures; he has reached into the States and opposed the re-election of party members unamenable to his dictation.

When the President of the United States demands the passage of the federal suffrage amendment it will no longer be obstructed in the United States Senate.

Until the President acts, instead of talks for suffrage for the women of the nation, he must be counted as an opponent, and women must continue to agitate for their political liberation.

The September Suffrage Demonstrations

THE suffrage amendment is still blocked in the Senate. The Administration and the Senate show no signs of acting on it.

This Congress will soon end. If the Senate does not pass suffrage before Congress closes, all that has been gained by its passage in the House will be lost. We shall have to begin work again on the four hundred and thirty-five men of the new House of Representatives and the ninety-six men of the new Senate.

Against this Senate delay, women must continue to protest. If enough women protest, and protest with sufficient vigor, the amendment will pass this Congress.

In Washington, on Monday, September 16, another protest meeting will be held at Lafayette statue. You will remember that suffragists were arrested, tried and imprisoned last month for holding such a meeting. A permit has now, without their asking, been extended to the members of the National Woman's Party for a meeting. This permit, however, is no guarantee that there will not again be arrests and imprisonments. Women have been imprisoned in Washington before for telling the simple truth about the failure of the Administration to give effective support to suffrage. There may, with our new demand for action, be further arrests, although suffragists have been assured by counsel that in holding park meetings they are entirely within their legal and constitutional rights. Everyone who takes part in the demonstration is, however, prepared for imprisonment.

The National Woman's Party earnestly hopes great numbers will join in this demonstration. The importance of having numbers is easily understood. The protests of many women will bring quickly what the protests of a few will take long to accomplish. Suffragists must not force a few women to bear the burden of this fight for them.

Your failure to help will make more difficult and less effective, the protests of those who have been more actively carrying on the fight in Washington, and upon whom the burden must continue to fall unless you and the other millions of women who have not helped will take your share in the battle.

Will suffragists who cannot take part in the demonstration on September 16, send us their names, if possible, for one of the later demonstrations? The National Woman's Party will continue these protests week by week as long as the Administration and the Senate continue their neglect of the suffrage measure.

The Pledge of Tennessee

By Lucy Branham

MANY forces have been brought to bear on Senator Shields, of Tennessee, during the past few months, both through a steady campaign in Tennessee and outside, to secure his support for the federal suffrage amendment.

A year ago when Miss Maud Younger first spoke in Tennessee for the National Woman's Party, the Senator was much opposed to the amendment on constituional grounds, and, though he recently wrote to the President that he held these same objections, he moved forward a step by saying that he would "consider" federal suffrage.

The Tennessee bar recently demonstrated that it shared none of the Senator's constitutional objections by endorsing federal suffrage at the State Bar Association meeting, thus weakening Senator Shields' position, but encouraging him to remold his own attitude. Senator Shields' respect for the legal profession is excessive, and Tennessee women are now more hopeful about his attitude.

Miss Younger aroused Tennessee to the changed suffrage situation by her campaign, forcing both the press and the public for the first time to think about suffrage in federal terms. The action of certain politicians and suffragists who prevented her holding meetings, won many friends of prominence throughout the state.

When I went to Tennessee in March, I was able, because of her pioneering, to reorganize and campaign throughout the state, ably assisted by Miss Sue White, now state chairman; Mrs. Isaac Reese, Mrs. McCormack, of Memphis; Mrs. Hugh White, and Mrs. Margaret Severance, of Chattanooga.

MANY letters, telegrams and resolutions were sent to Senator Shields from Tennessee men, women and organizations. A series of meetings, with Miss Beulah Amidon as speaker, were held in ten cities, including Memphis and Chattanooga. They resulted in splendid publicity. Tennessee newspapers, in short, began to write suffrage, and Tennessee politicians to think suffrage.

In July it was rumored that the President had written to Senator Shields asking him to vote for suffrage. I came to Washington to secure this proof for Tennessee that the President himself had asked the Senator's support for suffrage. Senator Shields refused to see me, although I called on him six times, and in spite of the fact that Senator France of Maryland asked him to see me. He had heard of my Tennessee meetings. When I asked Mr. Tumulty about the President's suffrage letters to Senator Shields' he said they were private letters, though he did not deny they had been written.

WHEN Senator Shields returned to Tennessee he still contended that he was upholding the Administration on all issues, blandly ignoring the suffrage question. I continued to state that the President had written to the Senator asking his suffrage support. My accusation was published everywhere, and very shortly afterward the suffrage correspondence between Senator Shields and the President was published, showing the Senator's brief step forward.

I spoke at Farmers' institutes, at churches, at war relief and Red Cross organization meetings, and everywhere men and women urged Senator Shields to stand by the President. At Winchester Courthouse one hundred men signed a petition which they had gotten up themselves, and which I forwarded to Washington. The Mayor of the City, the men on Senator Shields' own campaign committee urged him to "come over."

AT a recent conference held by the state executive committee of the National Woman's Party in Tennessee, Mrs. Margaret Severance, the state secretary, and Miss Sue White, state chairman, agreed that the campaign which had taken the record of Senator Shields before the voters of Tennessee and the women of Tennessee had had a far-reaching effect on suffrage public opinion in the South. The committee recognizes that the passage of the federal suffrage amendment lies with the Democratic Party. These Tennessee women have pledged themselves to help finance the campaign against the Democratic Party, *their own party*, in the Western Suffrage States, if the party in power, by its failure to pass the the federal suffrage amendment, makes it necessary for the suffragists of the nation to go into the coming political campaign.

New Jersey Munition Workers Demand Federal Suffrage

MISS Mary Dubrow for the past month has been holding enthusiastic meetings in the New Jersey munition factories and on the streets near the factories. Twelve meetings were held in Paterson, Newark, Passaic, Camden, Bloomfield, Hoboken and Jersey City. At all of these meetings petitions were circulated demanding that Senator Baird support the suffrage measure and that the President put his power behind the measure. Hundreds of signatures were secured. In some of these towns no Woman's Party meetings had been previously held, and the fact that they were conducted by a girl who had spent the greater part of her vacation as a school teacher in a gas-mask factory, and the remainder of it protesting for suffrage action in Washington, where she was many times arrested, did much to stimulate interest in the federal suffrage campaign.

Meetings were also held at the Pompton Cap Works; the American Shell Company, where meetings were held between shifts; the McArthur Brothers at Camden; the Government Inspectors at Camden; the Dupont Factory at Carney's Point; the Gas Mask Factories; the Haskell Powder Works; the Boonton Cap Works and the International Fuse Works. Since these are the leading munition works of New Jersey, it was felt that the signatures from these munition workers, must make an impression on the Senate and on the President.

Miss Dubrow was assisted in her work by Mrs. Jane Eayre Fryer of Camden, who donated her car for the meetings, and by Mrs. Scott, Mrs. Moses, Mrs. Walther, Mrs. Karr and Mrs. Laird. It will be remembered that Miss Dubrow took part in the five demonstrations recently held in Washington to demand action on the amendment, and would have served a prison sentence but for the fact that the police failed to identify her in Court. She has worked first for the Government in the factories and then for the enfranchisement of women during the whole of her summer vacation from school.

During the summer, reports the New Jersey Branch of the National Woman's Party, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, THE SUFFRAGIST has been placed in the Public Libraries of Bridgeton, Camden, East Orange, Jersey City, Paterson, Summit—the Trenton State Library—the readings rooms of the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. of Newark, and the libraries of Morristown, Newark and South Orange.

A letter was recently received by the New Jersey Branch from Miss Julia Hurlbut, Vice-Chairman, who is now a Y. M. C. A. Secretary in France. Miss Hurlbut wrote of her great disappointment at reading a tiny notice in one of the newspapers that the Senate had voted down the Susan B. Anthony amendment. "It does not seem possible," said she, "I still feel there must be some mistake. Must it all be done over again? . . . Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—out of my window hangs a big French flag, with a little American one tacked on top of it, in honor of the Day of Independence. I still believe it will prove to be an Independence Day for us women. I am sending you a small donation, which I wish were ten times as large." The "small donation" was a cheque for one hundred dollars.

Labor Demands Federal Suffrage in Connecticut

THE Connecticut Federation of Labor at their convention recently held in New London, passed a resolution endorsing and calling for action on the federal suffrage amendment. This is the first time the labor men of the state have endorsed national suffrage, though two years ago they endorsed the state suffrage measure. Miss Helen Todd, of New York, and Mrs. Lillian M. Ascough, state chairman of the Connecticut Branch of the National Woman's Party, spoke before the labor body's resolutions committee on behalf of federal suffrage.

Assisted by Miss Clara Louise Rowe, the Connecticut Branch is holding a series of meetings in the state. In Senator Brandegee's home town, New London, two open air meetings were last week held at the Sailor's and Soldier's Monument. Mrs. Toscan Bennett, Mrs. Lillian M. Ascough and Miss Helen Todd were the speakers. Miss Rowe secured resolutions calling on the President for action from the New London Central Labor Union and the Shipbuilder's Union. Meetings will this week be held in Stamford and Norwalk.

The "Militants" in the Suffrage Movement

WHEN these militants arrived in Washington in January, 1913, the National American Woman Suffrage Association had no headquarters at the Capital. Woman suffrage had never in the history of the country been voted upon by the House of Representatives. It had not received a favorable report since 1892 and had not received any report since 1896.

THESE "militant" women, appointed by a "conservative" leader who knew they had served jail sentences in England were solely responsible for putting woman suffrage "on the map" in national politics in 1913.

It was they who, as the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, organized the first great parade of suffragists on March 3, 1913, which ended in a riot call.

It was Alice Paul who led the first deputation of suffragists which ever appeared before a President of the United States on March 17, 1913.

It was Alice Paul, then head of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, who made the first unseemly attempt to annoy the President, when, on November 17, 1912, she marched a troupe of seventy-three "conservative" New Jersey suffragists to the White House to see the President in spite of his refusal to make an appointment. He gave in and met them—and Alice Paul has been annoying the President ever since.

It was through the efforts of Alice Paul's Committee that federal suffrage resolutions were introduced by Representative Mondell and Senator Chamberlain at the opening of Congress on April 7, 1913. It was through these "militant" women, acting for the National Woman Suffrage Association, that a majority committee on woman suffrage was appointed in the United States Senate, and made, on June 13, 1913, the first favorable report on the suffrage resolution in twenty-five years.

It was through these same militant women that the great suffrage demonstration of July 31, 1913, was held. Some of the suffrage senators who now seek to "repudiate" these militant leaders *might well remember that day*—for it was with Alice Paul, still Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, that the Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate motored to Hyattsville to meet the suffrage "hikers" sent from New York, etc., and after making many speeches of welcome, led the suffrage procession into Washington. And even then, Alice Paul was already a convicted militant!

As Senator Reed stated: "If these are not the leaders of the suffrage movement, it would be difficult to say who are the leaders." It was these militant women, fresh from an English prison, who brought the suffrage agitation to Washington in 1913—and it is a significant fact that every member of that committee of 1913 is now a member of the Woman's Party and has served as a "picket." . . .

And the truth is that there had been no real suffrage agitation in Washington since the death of Susan B. Anthony until these "militants" who went to jail with Mrs. Pankhurst were sent here by the National Suffrage Association in 1913 to lead its fight for the federal amendment.

The claim that the Woman's Party is a "small body of irresponsible women" is pure camouflage. It has 47,842 members and is organized in every Congressional District. To it belong the real leaders who have put woman suffrage on the map at Washington, such as Alice Paul, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Harriet Stanton Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton), Anne Martin, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, etc. . . .

Since the death of Susan B. Anthony until Alice Paul and Lucy Burns started their activities in 1913, there had not been enough brains and ability in the whole suffrage movement to keep up the official "History of Woman Suffrage."—*The Woman Patriot, Sept. 1918.*

The Press of All Sections Protest

Shall This Be a Democracy and Continue a male Autocracy?

IN view of the early reconvening of the Senate, the advocates of the Susan B. Anthony amendment are taking steps to insure the passage of that amendment by the Senate. The President has written personal letters to Democratic senators, pleading vigorously and eloquently that they vote for the amendment, which would have passed June 27 had it not been for the filibuster led by Bourbon senators.

As a method of riveting attention upon this amendment, women have had meetings in Washington for which they have been arrested and taken to the police station. On Monday thirty-seven women, representing seventeen states, sought to hold a suffrage demonstration in Lafayette Park. They were arrested by the policemen of Washington, taken to the police station, and the ribbons and badges they wore were taken off of them. The husbands of some of the women attempted to get where they were confined, and were prevented from so doing by the policemen. In making the arrest Miss Ruby Koenig, Hartford, Conn., had her arm so injured that the doctor fears a bone is cracked; Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore, had her back sprained; Miss Hazel Hunkins, Billings, Mont., Miss Lucy Burns, Brooklyn, and Miss Edna Purtell, of Hartford, Conn., had their wrists sprained.

This was not in Berlin; it was in Washington, the capital of the greatest democracy in the world—according to the Fourth of July orators. These women were not enemies of the government, they are representatives of millions of men and women who demand that this be a democracy in fact as well as in the flamboyant utterances of supporters of a male autocracy. These women were gathered together to urge the Senate of the United States to heed the request of the President that as a war measure we adopt the Susan B. Anthony amendment. They have no voice in the selection of their public servants under the present male autocracy, which men in the Senate attempted to preserve by a shameless filibuster, using the illness of Senator James as a flimsy excuse to prevent a vote being taken, with the certainty that if a vote were taken two-thirds of the Senators present would vote against the continued male autocracy even as a hundred million Americans are fighting against the continuance of the autocracy of the Beast of Berlin.

The amendment will come up for vote in the Senate. Will the same tactics be pursued that were effective on June 27? Will the senators who then contrived the filibuster and connived at it as the only method of preventing the passage of the amendment still prove themselves recreant to the demand of democracy voiced by the President? Would the policemen of Washington arrest and maltreat the women who attempt to gather to make patent their demand for justice if they were men with the vote?—*Lexington (Ky.) Herald, August 14, 1918.*

A Warning from New England

THOSE who have believed that the recent militant tactics of the suffragists in Washington would injure rather than advance the cause the women advocate must have read with astonishment the fact that Republican United States Senators, at their conference on Saturday, went on record as advocating the adoption of the Anthony amendment to the federal constitution immediately when the prohibition legislation was disposed of. Such action coming on the heels of the attempt of the women to hold their street meetings, resulting in their arrest and sentence to jail where they acted with deliberate and intentioned insubordination, by no means makes it appear that the tactics pursued have cost the cause friends.

The action of the Republican Senate conference distinctly puts the matter up to the Democrats and to the President as the leader of his party and in a measure seems to justify the position which the militant women have taken, namely that the President has by no means gone as far for them as he should.

Already two-thirds of the Republican Senators stand ready to pass the Anthony amendment and now their party conference has practically made it a party measure, although insisting that the vote taken does not bind any individual senator. If Democratic Senators, largely from the South, continue to hold back, the Democratic Party must take responsibility for failure of the suffrage amendment to pass. With congressional elections coming on, in the equal suffrage states as well as the man-suffrage states, to say nothing of a Presidential election two years hence, it will be interesting to see if the Democratic Party, as a national organization will dare to take any such responsibility.

It is a certainty that if the women fail to secure passage of the Anthony amendment the suffragists will campaign in every state where women vote against the Democratic Party. Such tactics might conceivably spell the loss by Democrats of control of the House of Representatives. With the knowledge of that possibility it is difficult to believe that the President is going to permit his party to stand in the way of the passage of the amendment if he can exert influence enough to prevent it, especially since he has declared the amendment ought to be passed at once as a war measure.

It is a shrewd realization of these facts, rather than a mere desire to be disagreeable, that has led the women to be militant. They have seen, with a political vision that is impressive, what might be accomplished by a really strenuous fight to show the condition as it is and they are therefore going into the battle in two-handed man fashion, instead of adopting shrinking violet tactics which have brought them pats on the shoulders and evasions where they wanted votes. And events thus far fully justify their position.—*Hartford Post, August 26, 1918.*

Strong-Arm Methods No Remedy

IT would need a sharp eye to find in the current news of many weeks, another affair so lamentable as that which took place in Washington on Monday, and which we shall describe as briefly as possible.

Thirty-eight women met before the Lafayette statue, in the square opposite the White House, to protest against the Senate delay in acting on the federal suffrage resolution. The women were arrested. After appearing at police headquarters thirty-six of them returned to their former station and were re-arrested.

All this, while disturbing, was not acutely sensational. Such demonstrations, and such arrests, have happened often before. What gives the matter its distressing complexion is the charge of gross police cruelty, the specific allegations made by the management under whose direction the meeting was conducted, being as follows:

"Miss Edna Purtell, of Hartford, Conn., wrist badly twisted and finger broken.

"Miss Hazel Hunkins, Billings, Mont., had her wrist so injured that it was swollen beyond the possibility of telling whether it was actually broken or sprained. This injury was sustained when she was thrown back of a table by an officer reaching over her shoulder and seizing her by the head.

"Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore, was swung back and forth against an iron case and suffered a wrenched back.

"Miss Gladys Greiner, Baltimore, and Miss Vivian Pierce, San Diego, Cal., were thrown upon tables and choked. Both were cut and bruised.

"Miss Lucy Burns, of Brooklyn, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, were both bruised and twisted severely, as were in greater or less degree all the other women.

"Mrs. George Koenig, Hartford, Conn., whose arm was so badly sprained by the policeman who arrested her last Tuesday that she has been forced to carry it in a sling, was again so roughly handled that the pain made her violently ill."

From any angle whence it is viewed the scene conjured up by this story from Washington is deplorable.

Probably the demonstration preceding the clash with the police, might have been characterized by more tact. But it does not appear that the meeting at the Lafayette statue came under the head of "picketing." The women met, not to heckle the President, who is the staunch friend of suffrage, but to protest against the halt which has kept the suffrage resolution for many months hanging fire in the Senate, though it was long ago ratified by the House.

The women were wholly within their legal and civil rights in going on record in the matter, although there seems to be a question whether the way they took to make their protest known was technically legal.

Concluded on Page 11

The Pedestal

"DURING my years of suffrage work I've been told and re-told that women's place is on a pedestal; and the first time I get on one, I'm arrested."

This assertion by Miss Elsie Hill, of Norwalk, Conn., one of the militants arrested while climbing upon the Lafayette statue yesterday to hold a "protest demonstration," brought forth a gale of laughter in court today and caused Judge McMahon to rap vigorously for order.—*Springfield (Mass.) August 13, 1918.*

Remove the Barnacle from the Hull, Ladies

THE National Woman's Party has resumed a campaign for the adoption of the federal suffrage amendment. Impatient over the delay of action by the venerable United States Senate, a group of former woman pickets staged a demonstration near the White House recently. Fifty of them were promptly arrested and haled into court.

It is difficult to fathom the psychology of the authorities of Washington in the matter of picketing for their rights by these earnest women. When they were arrested before, the charge was camouflaged under the technical charge of "obstructing traffic," it being generally acknowledged that picketing was a lawful proceeding.

At that time many women were committed to Occoquan, where they were subjected to unspeakable brutalities by prison officials and attendants. Some of the prisoners left the American Bastile in precarious physical condition. Later, on appeal, a court rendered a decision that picketing was in fact legal and all prisoners were discharged.

Court procedure and court psychology are beyond our feeble minds to grasp and in the circumstances we can only repeat our former advice to these courageous women. If they are not permitted to use the streets (which, tradition has it, belong to the people) to spread their propaganda, let them agitate for the abolition of the Senate, some of whose members are blocking the desired legislation.

We have been told on the highest authority that the "Senate was expected to be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of wealth and aristocracy"; and this being undisputed, it should no longer be tolerated on a stage which has been set for the drama of world democracy.

Monarchies—limited and unlimited, with the exception of the Empire of the Rising Sun—have vitalized the slogan of democracy by granting equal suffrage. Will America be the last of the "great democracies" to enfranchise the women and acknowledge sex equality?—*Buffalo New Age, August 10, 1918.*

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List of Contributions from August 17, through September 4, 1918

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Elizabeth T. Kent	$ 300.00
Per Minnesota Branch:	
Alice Paul Branch:	
Miss Victoria M. McAlmon	35.00
Miss Ellen Winsor	12.00
Mr. D. R. Brimhall	5.00
Mrs. Henry Lockwood	5.00
Mrs. Phoebe P. Scott	5.00
Miss Cora Crawford	5.00
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Mrs. S. Bienstock	5.00
Anonymous	1.00
Miss Barbara Walther	5.00
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Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood	125.00
A Friend	1,000.00
Mrs. Sophie G. Sage	20.00
Per Pennsylvania Branch:	
Miss Lavinia L. Dock	5.00
Miss Katherine Morey (collected)	
Anonymous	10.00
Anonymous	2.00
Mrs. Avery Coonley	300.00
Mrs. F. R. Hazard	100.00
Per Miss Anita Pollitzer:	
Pittsburgh, Pa. Branch	50.00
Mrs. D. H. Witherby	50.00
Mrs. William Colt	10.00
Mrs. Frances B. Ackerman	10.00
Mrs. Edmund Kelly	5.00
Miss Alfreda Page	5.00
Mrs. John Rogers, Jr.	10.00
Mrs. William H. Blauvelt	50.00
Miss Sue S. White	100.00
Miss Bertha I. Smith	3.00
Membership Fees	12.50
Total collected by National Headquarters	2,281.43
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	346,179.64
Total collected by National Headquarters through Sept. 4, 1918	348,461.07

Contributions made to Colorado Headquarters:

Dr. Margaret Long	100.00
Mrs. Gertrude Cuthbert	500.00
Mrs. May Woodward	100.00
Mrs. V. Z. Reed	9.25
Miss Marjorie Reed	9.25
A Friend	10.00
Collection	8.45
Mrs. Josephine Hamp	20.00

Contributions made to Minnesota Headquarters:

Mrs. A. H. Bright	5.00
Miss Florence Burton	4.00
Miss Nettie Blasing	3.00
Mrs. Camp	1.00
Mrs. House	5.00
Miss Emma Armstrong	5.00
Mrs. C. S. Ganssle	7.00
Mrs. A. Potter	35.00
Mrs. Alex. Colvin	50.00
Total collected by Branches	871.95
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	65,975.42
Total collected by Branches through Sept. 4, 1918	66,847.37
Grand Total	415,308.44
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	3,637.50
Grand Net Total	$411,670.94

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The Press of all Sections Protest

Continued from Page 9

Whether the method adopted by the women was lawful or not, there is no shadow of excuse nor justification for the rough handling which the accounts from Washington ascribe to the police.

If the women were treated in the way they are said to have been treated—if sprains, bruises and wrenches were inflicted on those put under arrest, it is an outrage of shocking brutality. The charges call for summary and rigid investigation. If they are proven, somebody should be made to smart.

Beyond all that is the fact that if the federal suffrage resolution had been ratified by the Senate when it was adopted by the House, this meeting in Washington would never have been called, and there would have been no revolting consequences.

Just so long as a great and a just cause, like the enfranchisement of woman, is kept on the anxious seat, there will be some who cannot smother their impatience. . . .

The charges of police barbarity give a peculiarly sinister hue to this episode. But its causes lie deeper than that. The responsibility in the ultimate analysis, is not with the impetuous women, nor even with the police who are under so sharp a fire. It is with men who have kept the federal suffrage resolution suspended between a yes and no.—*Buffalo Times, August 14, 1918.*

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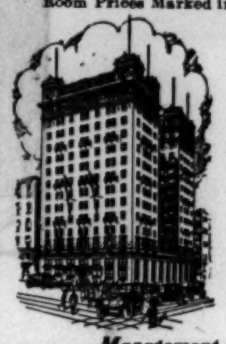
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